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**Folder Title:** Terrorism: US-British (11/07/1984-11/19/1984)

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** NORTH, OLIVER: FILES

**Withdrawer**

DLB 12/28/2006

**File Folder** TERRORISM: UNITED STATES - BRITISH (11/07/1984-11/19/1984))

**FOIA**

F02-071/3

**Box Number** 14

COLLINS

26

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
31506	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #31498; BRITISH ASSESSMENT OF ISLAMIC JIHAD AND HIZBALLAH <i>D 10/26/2011 F2002-071/3</i>	3	ND	B1
31507	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #31499; RE: LEBANON <i>D 10/26/2011 F2002-071/3</i>	4	ND	B1
31508	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #31470; THREAT OF ATTACK <i>D 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>	14	ND	B1
31509	PAPER	COMMENTARY ON UNITED KINGDOM PAPER <i>D 10/26/2011 F2002-071/3</i>	10	ND	B1
31510	REPORT	WORKING DRAFT, OUTLOOK ON TERRORISM... <i>R 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>	8	ND	B1
31511	LETTER	J.L WRIGHT TO LYLE COX <i>D 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>	2	11/19/1984	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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31507	PAPER  DUPLICATE OF #31499; RE: LEBANON	4	ND	B1

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31508	PAPER  DUPLICATE OF #31470; THREAT OF ATTACK	14	ND	B1

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31509	PAPER  COMMENTARY ON UNITED KINGOM PAPER	10	ND	B1

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## WORKING DRAFT

## Outlook on Terrorism of Middle Eastern Origin

International terrorism in 1984 has become largely a problem of terrorism perpetrated by Middle Eastern groups and states. Five alarming trends have become increasingly clear in 1984, and all of them point to the conclusion that this trend is likely to have an extended life. (S)

While the number of international terrorist incidents in other regions has remained stable or actually declined over the last three years, Middle Eastern terrorism has increased dramatically. (see attached table) International terrorist incidents rose 40 percent during the first eight months of 1984, compared with the same period in previous years, and nearly all of the increase is in terrorism of Middle Eastern origin. Until 1984, Europe and Latin America experienced the main share of international terrorism; thus far this year, about 45 percent of all incidents are of Middle Eastern in origin. Attacks on US interests have increased but not to the same degree. There were 13 attacks on US persons or property in 1982, 21 in 1983, and 16 attacks through August 1984. In fact, important US friends and allies--Israel, France, United Kingdom and Jordan, for example--have borne the brunt of the upsurge. (S)

Middle Eastern terrorism is becoming more lethal, while terrorist acts in other regions remain largely crimes against property--bombings, arson, and sabotage--all without attendant casualties. Large scale bombings, armed attacks, and assassinations are most common to the Middle East and, as a result, well over 50 percent of Middle Eastern terrorist incidents caused casualties or were intended to do so. No other region approaches this lethal

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BY LOJ NARA DATE 8/4/08

record. Nearly two-thirds of terrorist casualties worldwide and nearly all US casualties in 1983 were victims of Middle East violence. Thus far in 1984, there have been fewer casualties, but 75 percent of those suffered by the United States have occurred in the Middle East. (S)

The increased geographic reach of Middle Eastern terrorism adds another dangerous dimension to the problem. In the early 1970s Palestinian terrorism was widespread, but since 1974 when PLO Chairman Arafat banned terrorism by the group outside the occupied territories, the spillover of Middle Eastern violence into other regions declined. So far this year, over 20 percent of Middle Eastern terrorism has occurred in other regions, mainly in Western Europe, but also in Africa. The resurgence of Libyan-backed terrorism contributed heavily to this trend, but Iranian-sponsored activity and operations by dissidents opposed to one or more Middle Eastern regimes are also a factor. US and other Western persons and property are always in danger of becoming unintended victims of terrorist attacks, but more ominously, the higher level of activity in other regions indicates a potential capability that can be directed at US interests at any time. To our knowledge none of the PLO groups have initiated terrorist attacks outside of Israel, but a variety of evidence indicates they have in place a terrorist apparatus that would enable them to do so. Non-PLO radical Palestinian groups like Abu Nidal or the 15 May organization have already launched attacks in Western Europe.

(S)

The number of states involved in Middle Eastern terrorism has not increased, but the nature of state involvement has changed in recent years. Ten years ago, we spoke largely of patron states that provided money, safehaven, travel assistance, weapons, or bases to Palestinian groups that operated independent of their patron. Occasionally a state became more



directly involved. Today Algeria, South Yemen, North Yemen, and Iraq, for example, provide this type of assistance to both Palestinians and the domestic opponents of other governments. Syria, Libya, and Iran are even more active as patrons. The net effect of this type of continual support is the institutionalization of terrorism in the Middle East. A cadre of terrorists, supported by the intelligence services of host governments, and served by an elaborate network of bases, weapons caches, and cells outside the Middle East has been created. The Palestinian groups have benefited most from this institutionalization, and this is what makes their potential return to international terrorism so frightening. (S)

The institutionalization of terrorism has spawned a new and perhaps even more deadly phenomenon--the routine use of terrorism by some Middle Eastern states for their own ends. Evidence indicates that Iran, Syria, and Libya have employed their own state agents, as well as various surrogate groups in other countries, to attack enemies of those host states. Iran employs the Hizballah and the Islamic Amal in Lebanon, the Dawa party throughout the Middle East, and various Islamic liberation fronts in the Persian Gulf to export its revolution throughout the Muslim world. Targets in Western Europe also have been attacked. The United States has been a principal target because the fanatic elements of the Iranian government see us as the major impediment to their goals. (S)

Syria and Libya use terrorism for more traditional reasons: the neutralization of domestic and exiled opponents of their policies and the expansion of their own influence. Syria seeks to dominate the Palestinian movement, neutralize domestic opponents such as the Muslim Brotherhood, create a subservient government in Lebanon, and control the course of Arab relations with Israel. Syria tolerates and sometimes assists Iranian terrorism when it

serves these interests, and uses, among others, Saiqa and the Abu Nidal group more directly. The United States has been a target when it is perceived as an obstacle to these goals. Colonel Qadhafi is a more mercurial terrorist practitioner who uses terror whenever he believes he can hide his hand. Libyan exiles have been the chief victims, and they usually are attacked on Western soil. Opponents of Libyan influence in Africa have been another key target. Non-Libyan surrogate groups have been encouraged, and perhaps even paid, to attack US interests, but Qadhafi probably fears a US response should he attack more directly. (S)

There is little evidence of close collusion among this deadly trio of states because, we believe, their goals are too disparate. There may be some low level cooperation among them. The absence of a "terrorist international" in the Middle East does not lessen the danger, however, because all these states and the groups they use or support have come to believe that they have advanced their interests by using terrorism. In fact, we agree that those states sponsoring terrorism have earned dividends outweighing their costs, and unless or until those governments fall or costs become prohibitive, state terrorism is not likely to decrease. (S)

Terrorism of Middle Eastern origin may level off or even decline in coming years as some terrorists achieve their goals, or as counterterrorist and diplomatic efforts by victimized nations have some positive effect. Nevertheless, we may not yet have seen the worst. There is no logical reason to expect the trend toward increased lethality to soon taper off. Institutionalized terrorism means enhanced skills and experience that improves chances for terrorists pulling off terrorist incidents. Spectacular terrorist incidents like the three bombings of US targets in Beirut during 1983-84 undoubtedly are viewed as great successes by their perpetrators and could

encourage more of the same. The greatest unknown at present involves the Palestinians. We believe all PLO groups increasingly perceive Arafat's political approach as a failure. If the movement fragments or if Arafat allows (or even orders) a resumption of international terrorism, the problem of Middle East origin terrorism will become much worse. Incidents involving US and Israeli targets in Western Europe--with potentially high casualties--probably would occur. (~~S~~)

Iranian-sponsored terrorist activity appears intractable as long as the radicals remain influential in Tehran. It is difficult to gauge whether retaliation by the United States would strengthen the hand of radicals in the Iranian Government. With regard to Libyan, Syrian, or even Palestinian terrorism, firm policies and more concerted efforts to advance the Arab-Israeli peace process could serve to limit the level of violence. (~~S~~)

International Terrorist Incidents  
by Region of Origin: 1982-84

	<u>Jan-Aug 84</u>	<u>Jan-Aug 83</u>	<u>Jan-Aug 82</u>
Middle East	191	84	69
Europe	137	118	160
Latin America	81	85	70
Asia	22	26	19
Africa	21	11	11
<u>North America</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>21</u>
Worldwide	456	332	350

Principal Targets of Middle Eastern Terrorism  
January-August 1984

<u>Target</u>	<u>Attacks</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
1. Israel	34	18%
2. France	26	14%
3. Palestinians	24	13%
4. United States	16	8%
5. Libyan exiles	12	6%
6. United Kingdom	10	5%
7. Iran	<u>10</u>	<u>5%</u>
Top seven targets	132	69%

(16 other nations and international organizations attacked seven or fewer times each)

Principal Middle Eastern Terrorist Actors  
January-August 1984

<u>Nation/Group</u>	<u>Confirmed/Suspected Attacks</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
1. Iranian-backed groups	48	25%
2. Palestinian groups	33	17%
3. Libyan-sponsored action	24	13%
4. Jewish extremists	15	8%
5. Syrian-controlled Palestinians	<u>12</u>	<u>6%</u>
Top five actors	132	69%

(Seven other groups and unknown actors account for the remainder.)

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